they, in 1787, abolish slavery in that Territory? they abolished if whereter they could, thought they abolished if whereter they endeavored to sovereignty piled on sovereignty endeavored to sovereignty endeavored endeavored to sovereignty endeavored to sovereignty endeavored to sovereignty endeavored endeavored endeavored to sovereignty endeavored gare it to the whole Union, forbid that slavery ous than that of Jefferson? Why, there is scarcely a Virginian who dares

bare an opinion contrary to the lightest e imaginary balance of power, to carry That, Sir, is the question propounded by that slavery cannot be extended to these Terplacies. I believe, if his confidence in the judicial tribunals of the country were well founded, that slavery could not possibly go into these Territories, provided the Senate is right both as to law and the facts. I ask every member of the Senate-perhaps I may be less informed than any -whether slavery does not exist by none Mexican law, at this hour, in California Mr. HANNEGAN [in his sent]. It does exist:

Penn slavery exists there.
Mr. Conwin — I would thank the Senator from Indiana, if he will inform me what Peon slavery is; and really I ask the question for the berliance! Does the marvellous doctrine of of her who is a slave, must necessarily be slaves also, there recognised?

Wr. Hannesian — As I understand, slavery exets in California and New Mexico, as it does throughout the Republic of Mexico, and is semed Peon slavery-slavery for debt, by which the creditor has a right to hold the debtor through all time in a far more absolute bondage han that by which any Southern planter holds his slaves here. Mr. Conwin.—So it has been described to me

have not seen the Mexican laws upon the subect, but the statement just made agrees with hat of many gentlemen who profess to know omething on the subject, and therefore I am aclined to think that it is so, and that these people are the subjects of that infernal law .he Senator from Delaware, the other day, informed us that the Committee had not given to the people of California and New-Mexico the right of suffrage, because they were incapable of exercising it—because a large proportion of them were of the colored races. Now, supposing that to be the case, and supposing the proposi tion to be sobmitted to the Supreme Court of the United States-Was slavery an institution New Mexico?-what would be the answer! the Senator from Indiana were there to make response, he would reply in the affirmative; he would say that the institution of slavery was there-that, to be sure, it had its modifications and its peculiarities, but that it was still slavery though there might not have existed a law as strong as the giorious principle of free govern-ment spoken of by the Senator from Virginiaparius sequitur ventrem. If, Sir, these thre atin words can condemn to everlasting slavery he posterity of a woman who is a slave, may of that municipal regulation of which we are now speaking in California and New Mexico with equal propriety be denominated slavery? ind, then, slavery as it is called, existing here to a degree; and to all practical purposes as lasting and inexorable as in the State of Virginia; and therefore the whole of the hypothesis of the gentleman from Vermont falls to the ground as matter of fact, inasmuch as the Supreme Court will decide that slavery existed there, and that, erefore, the whole slave popul United States may be transferred to that coun-

Mr. Pheres. - The gentleman will excuse me, I spoke of African slavery.

Mr. Cozwin.—Of that I am aware. I speak now of the general proposition. Now, this is very curious spectacle presented this day and for weeks past in the American Congress, and one cannot help pausing at this point, and re-decting upon the events of the past tew years. On looking back at what has happened in that eriod, I am sure that the maguanimous spirit f the Senator from South Carolina himself, will be obliged to concede to the Northern States at least some apology for the slight degree of exchement on this subject. His hypothesis is, that into every portion of this newly acquired Territory-California not excepted-every slave-holder in the United States has a right to miate to-morrow, and carry with him his slaves; ding them there forever, subject only to the abolition of slavery when these Territories shall be made into States, and come into the Union. What, then, would be those few chapters in our istory? We find ourselves now in the possession of Territories with a population of one hun-dred and fifty thousand souls, if I am correctly aformed, in California and New Mexico. The est authenticated history of the social institutions of that population, informs us that there exists there at this moment a species of slavery s absolute and inexorable as exists anywhere on face of the earth; and that about five in six the population of that country are subjected o the iron rule of this abominable institution

Now I do not expect that any man will rise up and say that because an individual happens be the debtor of another, he shall have his own person sold into slavery; and not only that, that the curse shall extend-worse than that of the liebrew, not to the third and fourth genution, but to the remotest posterity of that unfortunate man. Nobody will pretend to rise up in defence of such a proposition as that. Now, then, I will give over the criticism. Suppose there is a law in New Mexico, which obliges a man to work all the days of his life for another, ecause he happens to owe him five dollars, by o give you freedom!" Instead of that, you

n, tecause I was one of those who predicted beginning that this would be the rethe oppressed of Mexico, you would put the that you sent there to be sacrificed; and pointing to the unburied corses of her sons who have fallen there, the South exclaims: "These se constitute my title to carry my slaves to that hand! It was purchased by the blood of my sons." The aged parent bereft of his children, and the widow with the family that remains, desire to go there to better their fortunes, if it may be and cointing to the grayer tunes, if it may be, and pointing to the graves of husband and children, exclaim: "Therethere was the price paid for our proportion of this territory!" Is that true? If that could this territory! Is that true? If that could be made out—if you dare put that upon your record—if you can assert that you hold the country by the strong hand, then you have the right to go there with your slaves. If we of the North have united with you of the South in this expedition of piracy, and robbery, and murder, that oldest law known among men—honour among thieven"—requires us to divide it with you equally. [Laughter and sub-

power of the whole Confederacy—the men dued appliause.] Nay, more: It is only a fitting finale to that infernal tragedy, that after having singition of the United States—why did singhtered fifty thousand human beings, in orthey had their opinions such an abhorrence of slavery that be followed by the slavery of every one that territory abolished it wherever they could, though they abolished it wherever they endeavored to Sir, if it be true that you hold this territory

by that law transferred to the United States; and thus and by no other. You have stolen the man ind they who offered that patrimony and nobly and with the strong band torn him from his gid they who offered that patrimony and mosty gid they who offered that patrimony and mosty give it to the whole Union, forbid that slavery give it to the whole Union, forbid that slavery own home—part of his family you have killed, and the rest you have bound in chains and brought to Virginia! Then, in accordance with the brand which it seems the Almighty has impressed upon poor Woman-partus er quitur ventrem-you condemn to Slavery, to thought that he ever expressed. And is it so, the remotest posterity, the offspring of your that we are now to be required for the sake of that we are now to be required for the sake of that we are now to be required for the sake of the same right originally in both cases. This right of conquest is the same muthat by which a man may hold another in bondage. You may make it into a law if you

pleuse: you may enact that it may be so: after perpetrating the original sin, it may be better to do so. But the case is not altered; the source of the right remains unchanged. What is the meaning of the old Roman word Sereus? profess no great skill in philological learning but I can very well conceive how somebody tooking into this thing, might understand what was the law in those days. 'The man's life was saved when his enemy conquered him in buttle. fle became servus—the man preserved by his magnanimous foe; and perpetual slavery was then thought to be a boon preferable to death. That was the way in which Slavery began .purpose of obtaining information. I desire to earth a man fool enough to give himself up to another, and beg him to make him has anybody found out on the face of the I do not know of one such instance under heawhich the Hon. Senator from Virginia spoke as ven. Yet it may be so. Still I think that not which the fron. Schatter from virginia spoke as being part and parcel of the law adopted in Virginia—partus sequilar ventrem—prevail? Is that boly ordinance, that the offspring of the womb (General laughter.) This right, which you are now asserting to

> this country, exists on no other foundation than nagarded it, how is it that you call upon me t the law of force, and that was the original law, extend it to those vast territories which you have by which one man appropriated the services necestly acquired? Is it true that I am obliged and will of another to himself. Thus far we to receive into my family a man with the small mself. Thus far we have been brought after having fought for this pay or the leprosy, that they may be infected? country and conquered it. The solemn appeal know you do not consider it in that light now is made to us—"Have we not mingled our blood But the gentleman from Virginia has said that with yours in acquiring this country ?" Surely, must be done. Why? Because it is compassi my brother! But did we mingle our blood with yours for the purpose of wresting this country by force from this people? That is the ques-You did not say so six months ago. You dare not say so now! You may say that it was purchased, as Louisiana or as Florida was, with he common treasure of the country; and then we come to the discussion of another proposition: What right do you acquire to establish Slavery there? But I was about to ask of some gentleman-the Senator from S. C. for instance -whose eye at a glance has comprehended al-most the history of the world, what he supposes will be the history of this, our Mexican War, and these, our Mexican acquisitions, if we should give to it the direction which he desires? I do not speak of the propriety of slave labor being carried anywhere. I will waive that question entirely. What is it of which the Senator from Vermont has told us this morning and of which we have heard so much during the last three weeks? Every gale that floats ecross the Atlantic comes freighted with the death-grouns of a King; every vessel that touches your shores bears with her tidings that the captives of the Old World are at last beoming free-that they are meking, through blood and slaughter-blindly and madly, it may -but nevertheless, resolutely-deliverance from the fetters that have held them in bond-Who are they ? The whole of Europe. And it is only about a year ago, I believe, that that officer of the Turkish Empire who holds sway in Tunis, one of the old slave markets of faith in the processes through which that law is e line which the Senator from S. C. believes has been drawn around the globe which we inhabit, with the view of separating Free-dom and Slavery—36" 30 min. brings this very Tunis into that region in which by the ordinance of God men are to be held in bendage!—
> All over the world the air is vocal with the shouts of men made free. What does it all mean? It means that they have been redeemed from political servitade; and in God's name I ask, if it be a boon to mankind to be free from political servitude, must it not be accepted as matter of some gratulation that they have been relieved from absolute subjection to the arbitrary power of others! What do we say of them? I am not speaking of the propriety of this thing; it may be all wrong, and these poor felthing; it may be all wrong, and these poor fel-lows in Paris, who have steat hands and willing hearts, anxious to earn their bread, may be very comfortable in fighting for it. It may be all wrong to cut off the head of a King or send him across the Channel. The problem of Free Government, as we call it, is not, it seems, yet solved. It may be highly improper and foolish in Austria and Germany to send away Metternich and say, "We will look into this business ourselves." According to the doctrine preached in these Halls—in free America—instead of ter to these people, we should send to them groans and commiseration for their folly, calling on them to beware how they take this business into their own hands-informing them that universal liberty is a curse; that as one man is born with a right to govern an Empire, he and his posterity (as Louis Phillippe of Or-leans maintained when he announced that his son should sit on the throne when he left it) must continue to exercise that power, because in their case it is not exactly partus sequifur pentrem, but partus sequitar patrem—that is all the difference. [Laughter.] The Crown fol-lows the father! Under your law the chain follows the mother! [Subdued manifestations

of feeling. "It was a law in the Colonies about '76 that Kings had a right to govern us. George Guelph then said, "partus sequitar patram"—my son is born to be your ruler. And at the very time some means contrived by the creditor to keep him always his debtor. Do you intend that that law shall exist there for an hour? Well, you all men—to deliver her from that accursed maximum shall exist there for an hour? Well, you all men—to deliver her from that accursed maximum shall exist there for an hour? have made a law here that your law-makers who im and its consequences, that one man was are to go to New Mexico and California, shall born—as Jefferson said—booted and spurred to not touch the subject of slavery; and if that ride another, it seems that by the Hon. Senator's which is designated in the popular language of that country slavery, exists there, do you, indeed, send abroad, as you promised to do, your missionary of liberty? You went there with born to rule, and others being born only to serve, some new light upon the subject within the last the sword, and made it red in the blood of these are both of the same family, and ought to have ople! What did you tell them? "We come gone down to the same place whence, I imagine they came, long ago, together. I do not think that your code here—bloody as that of Pharaoh—that there shall be judges and law-givers
over them, but that they shall make no law
touching that slavery to which five out of six
of them are subjected.

I think these things are worthy of consideratien. I have looked at them with some consern, because I was one of those who predicted.

I think that parlus acquilitur
they came, long ago, together. I do not think
that your partus sequitur patrus had much quarsuperme Court. Do you remember the case
adverted to by the Senator from New Jersey today? I recollect very well when we did not
stop to inquire how the Supreme Court had deof your engles, and Cornwallis surrendered to
George Washington, that maxim, that a man
is born to mile, went down, not to be seen among
us again forever, and I think that parlus acquilitur
law have always had with me as much weight us again forever, and I think that partus sequitur rentrem, in the estimation of all sensible men, disappeared along with it. So the men of that day thought. And we are thus brought to the lish just such a Bank as you had—but with inthe blessings of peace and the oil of consolation to be taxed by the Imperial Parliament of Engof Negro Slavery upon them. All us in that Parliament. I need not refer gentletrade, because it was a wrong perpetrated upon the slave himself, and especially because it prevented the settlement of the country by artisam, nechanics, and laboring has handmen. I venture the in other parts of the world, but I know that

and frommed box desertances.

exceld allow, with the mede for a police, the remain, in the very modified provide law has

build loaded her news beside the, I does to cook of believe

pinton in Virginia at that time, and it was the legal attainments, cid not prohibit us from com-pinion in Georgia too. A convocation of men ing here. I thought I had a right to come here: der to extend your authority over these one from every county in that State assembled—as I the Senator from South Carolina said I had a hundred and fifty thousand, the murder should find by this book—assembled at Darien, and result to come; the Hon. Senator from Georgia believely that be followed by the slavery of every one that solved the very same things, giving the same reasons. The men of that day understood the work of founding a new country. They knew what was best for an infant people just strugwhat was a right to come here: his conceasure high up in the clouds, and not belonging to the world: the Senator from Mississippi said it was a right secured to me somewhere high up in the clouds, and not belonging to the world: the Senator from Mississippi said it was a right secured to me somewhere high up in the clouds, and not belonging to the world: the Senator from Mississippi said it was a right secured to me somewhere high up in the clouds, and not belonging to the world: the Senator from Mississippi said it was the ordinary from the clouds and the clouds are the properties. worth anything; if the opinions of these venerated men are to be considered as authority—I ask Southern centlemen what they mean when they Southern gentlemen what they mean when they ask me to extend to the distant shores of the Pa. tur ventrem born with them: they are my propcific Ocean the stave-trade between Maryland erty." Thus the appeal will be made to ti and Virginia, and that almost unknown country. I am considering the property of doing this thing if the question were now for the first time property which the settler in these Territories presented to us. I ask any Southern man, if there were not a slave on this continent, would you send your ships to Africa and bring them. nere? Suppose this Confederation of ours had been formed before a slave existed in it, and suppose here in the year of grace 1848, you had acquired California and New Mexico, and you lities afforded him by this bill for gaining his were told that there existed a modified system of freedom. Suppose my friend from New Hampslavery there, and that they wanted laborers there, would a Senator use in his place and say, and collects a fund for the purpose of sending we will authorise the African slave-trade in order to introduce laborers into our infant Colonies? If you would not bring them from the shores of Africa—buying them with partus seshores of Africa-buying them with partus scquitur ventrem branded on them somewhere, how can you prove to me that it would be night to of this gentleman from Baltimore and save:transfer them-to Maryland? If slavery were a curse to you in the beginning, but had struck its roots so deep into your social and municipal system, as was then said, that it could not be erad icated entirely, how is it that you call upon me as a matter of conscience and duty, to transfer this curse to an area of square miles, greatly exing that of the thirteen States, when the Confederation was formed? If it is so, that it i an evil-and so all your Statesmen have pro-nounced it, and so all your eminent men, with the exception of a few in modern times, have to receive into my family a man with the small to the slave. He cannot be nurtured in Virginia your lands are worn out. Sir, that statemen sounded ominous in my ears. It gave rise to some reflection? Why are your lands worn out Are the lands of Pennsylvania worn out? Are those of Connecticut worn out? Is not Massaclausetts more productive to-day than when the fect of the white man was first impressed upor her soil? Your lands are worn out because the slave has turned pale the land wherever he has set down his black foot! It is slave-labor that has done all this. And must we then extend to these Territories that which produces sterility wherever it is found, till bleak and barren desc lation shall cover the whole land? If you can call upon me as a matter of compassion to senthe slave to California and Oregon, you can eal upon me by the same sacred obligation to re ceive him into Ohio as a slaw; and I would be just as much bound, as a citizen of Ohio, to say that the Constitution should be construed so as to admit slaves there, because they have made the land in Virginia barren, and they and their masters were perishing, till Ohio had also be come a howling wilderness. That reason will not do. Sensitive as they may appear to the morbid benevolence spoken of, with which I have no sympathy at all-and tender hearted as I am I can see through that-the citizens of Ohi cannot accept these men upon such terms.

What is there in the way, then, of my giving all. I would take this bill in a moment if I had the world, whose prisons formerly received to pass until it becomes a law in the chamber bethose of our people taken upon the high seas low. But I have not that faith, and I will tell and made slaves to their captors—announced to the gentleman why. It is a sad commentary the world that everybody should there be free. And, if I am not mistaken, it will be found that but very few exceptions, gentlemen coming from for the Territories. The Senator from S. C. lie in the way of its extermination. It had been who ought always to be before me [Mr. BADGER] -with a very few exceptions, all eminent law-vers on this floor from that section of the coun-stitution, we can enact that a man with \$50,000 try have argued that you have no right to prohibit worth of bank-notes of Maryland shall forfeit the introduction of slavery into Oregon, Califorthe whole amount if he attempts to pass one of nia and New Mexico; while, on the other hand, them in the Territory of California. We may there is not a man in the free States, learned or say if a man carry a menagene of wild beasts unlearned, clerical or lay, who has any pretensions to legal knowledge, but believes in his con-there, he shall forfeit them. The man comes science that you have a right to prohibit slavery. s not that a curious commentary upon that won- that the law forbids him to exhibit his animal

Mr. Underwood-It is regulated by a line! Mr. Conwin .- Yes, by 36" 30 minutes, and what is black on one side of the line and white gers goes back, having lost his whole concern. what is black on one side of the line and white on the other, turning to jot black again when restored to its original locality. How is that? Can I have confidence in the Supreme Court of the United States when my confidence fails in Senators around me here? Do I expect that the members of that body will be less careful than the Senators from Georgia and South Carolina, to form their opinions without any regard to selfish considerations? Can I suppose that either of these gentlemen, or the gentleman from Georgia, on the other side of the Chamber, (Mr. JOHNSON) or the learned Senator from Mississip famous that we should attempt to restrain the Almighty in the execution of His purposes as revealed to us by Moses—can I suppose that those Senators, with all the terrible responsibilities which press upon us when engaged in le-gislating for a whole Empire, came to their conclusions without the most anxious deliberation? And yet, on one side of the line, in the slave States, the Constitution reads yea, while on the other, after the exercise of an equal degree of ntelligence, calmness and deliberation, the Con-

I admire the Supreme Court of the United States as a tribunal. I admire the wisdom which contrived it. I rejoice in the good consequences come to this Republic from the exercise of its functions. I also revere the Senate of the Uni-ted States; but here is the most august body in ted States; but here is the most august body in the world, they say, composed of men who have wasted the midnight oil from year to year—men who in closets, in courts, in legislative halls, have been reaping the fruits of ripe experience coming here, and suddenly their mighty intellects, able to scan everyting however minute, and comprehend everything however grand, utterly fail them, and they kneel down in dumb insignificance and implore the Supreme Court few years, and that several of my Democratic friends on all sides of the Chamber must have been smitten with new love for the power of the bunal competent to put the matter at rest for-ever. Thank God, though all should fail, there is an infallible depository of truth, and it lives once a year for three months in a little Chamobjected to the introduction of claves into this gentleman starts from Baltimore, in Maryland, country through the intervention of the slave with a dozen black men who have partus

tlement by free whites. This, then, was the the country on account of their asgacity and as thus acquired? That will be the case unless the negro from Baltimore, when he gets there and sees the Peons there-slaves not by partus sequitur ventrem, but by a much better title-a verdict before a Justice of the Peace-should dehe question altogether. termine to avail himself of the admirable facil-That the Hon. Senators who reported this bill, ad its passage very much at heart I have no

shire, when he goes home, gets up a meeting ment of gifts." He goes to the negro quarter Come, I want brother Cuffee; it is true he is n son of Ham, but I want to instruct him that he is free." I am very much inclined to think that Perhaps, indeed, when this cry of wolf has been the missionary would fare very much as one did in South Carolina, at the hands of him of Baltimore. So, you see, the negro is to start all at once into a free Anglo Saxon in California: the blood of liberty flowing in every vein, and its divine impulses throbbing in his heart. He is to say: "I am free; I am a Californian; I bring the right of habras corpus with me." Well, he is brought up on a writ of habeas corpusfore whom? Very likely one of those gentlemen who have been proclaiming that slavery has a right to go there; for such are the men that Mr. Polk is likely to appoint. He has pre-judged the case. On the faith of his opinion the lave has been brought there—what can he do? There is his recorded judgment printed in your Congressional Report, what will he say? "You are a slave. Mr. CALHOUN was right. Judge Branier, of Georgia, a profound lawyer, whom I knew well, was right. I know these gentlemen well; their opinion is entitled to the high-ost authority, and in the face of it, it does not become me to say that you are free. So, boy, go to your master; you belong to the class partus equitier nentrem; you are not quite enough of a Saxon!" What then is to be done by this bill? Oh! a writ of error or appeal can come to the Supreme Court of the United States. How? The negro, if he is to be treated like a white man, taking out an appeal, must give bonds in double the value of the subject matter in dis-pute. And what is that? If you consider it the mercantile value of the negro, it may be perhaps \$1,000 or \$2,000. But he cannot have the appeal according to this bill, unless the value of the thing in controversy amounts to the value of \$2,000. But, then, there comes in this ideal-

onjoying the opportunity of visiting his of friends about Baltimore! [Laughter.] It must be conceded that there is a wide diffe ence between a case thus submitted to the Se preme Court of the United States in the absence of a Congressional action, and that in which Congress would have decided that Slavery should not exist in the Territory; because the Suprem Court in that case quoted so often from Peters, found that Congress had the power to legislate

ting-to this fellow, who is better without it -

bling and litigation, it is expected that the ne

gro will stand there and contend with master,

and coming on to Washington, will prosecute

Now, if we can make any law whatever, not back with his monkey under his arm, and say there; it was thought that as an economical a rangement, such things should not be tolerated there. That you may do: he of the lions and tichances to consider it an evil. If it be a proper subject of legislation in a State, and we have conquest as some say, or by purchase as others asintain, I ask-considering this as an abstract uestion-are there not duties devolving upon us for the performance of which we may not be reponsible to any earthly tribunal, but for which God who has created us all will hold us accountconquered people? You say it is your duty to men as talk about it here, it may be made very give them a Government—may you not then do attractive. It may be a very agreeable sight to everything for them which you are not forbidden todo by some fundamental axiomatic truth at the foundation of your Constitution? Show me then how your action is precluded, and I submit. Though I believe it ought to be otherwise, yet if would be that of a patriarch in the same neigh-

any Constitution of my country so ordains, I yield. The Constitution of some States declares slavery to be an evil. Southern gentlemen have said that they would have done away with it if possible, and they have apologised to the world and to themselves for the existence of it in their midst. These honest old men of another day never could have appealed to God in the way they themen. I know some of them consider the in-stitution as valuable; but many of them I also know regard it as a curse. But, thank God, slavery is not in Oregon, it is not in California, and when I find that you have trampled down the people in order to extend your dominion over them, I feel it to be my duty, when you appeal

them, I feel it to be my duty, when you appeal to me to make laws for them, and the supreme tribunal has said that I have the power to do so, to avert from them such a curse, and establish free institutions, under which no man can say that another is his property. I do not doubt this power. I know that it has been considered of old, from 1787 till the present hour to be vested in Congress. The judicial tribunals in the West have considered it so, and the Supreme Court of the United States have said in that decision so often referred to, that it was so. Have they found any restrictions most us? No. And what found to the constitution and the supreme court found and restrictions most us? No. And what the senting the beautiful, romantic, sentimental fact which will show what it is which our brether of the South now demand. If you take the area of the Free States and the Slave States as they exist, and compare them, you will find that the latter predominates. When the Constitution was formed, and when the Territory which you take the area of the Free States and the Slave States as they exist, and compare them, you will find that the latter predominates. When the Constitution was formed, and when the Territory which you take the area of the Free States and the Slave States as they exist, and compare them, you will find that the latter predominates. When the Constitution was formed, and when the Territory which you take the area of the Free States and the Slave States as they exist, and compare them, you will find that they exist, and compare them, you will find that they exist, and compare them, you will find that they exist, and compare them, you will find that they exist, and compare them, you will find that they exist, and compared them, you will find that they exist, and compared them, you will find that they exist, and compared them, you will find that they exist, and compared them, you will find that they exist, and compared them, you will find that they exist, and compared them, you was found in the present ha with your hypocritical pretence that you had got your iron hoof upon these you had got your iron hoof upon these you had got your iron hoof upon these your cuckoo-note would be changed—that this this dove-like accent would be changed—that this ove-like accent would be changed—that this ove-like accent would be consideration of the Supreme Coart. Then the race of the lion—and that, instead of extending that, if we on this side of the water were benefit of some of the States who were overburbed to the finite scoral day without caresses; and on the next they would you do if you were in the condition of the Proper interpretation of the proper interpretation of the Bank as you had—but with institution for the Union, and when you add the claim of the South that they will carry their slaves infinite scora did Democratic gentlemen—Jackson found any restrictions upon us? No. And what they will carry their slaves infinite scora did Democratic gentlemen—Jackson found any restrictions upon us? No. And what they will carry their slaves infinite scora did Democratic gentlemen—Jackson found any restrictions upon us? No. And what they will carry their slaves infinite scora did Democratic gentlemen—Jackson found any restrictions upon us? No. And what they will one the consideration of the proper interpretation of the Proper interpretation of the Proper interpretation of the Proper interpretation of the South that they will carry their slaves infinite scora did Democrate gentlemen—Jackson found any restrictions upon us? No. And what they will one of the South that they will carry their slaves infinite scora did Democrate gentlemen—Jackson found any restrictions upon us? No. And what they will one of the South that they will one of the Free States and on the unit would you do if you were in Oregon, New Mexico and California, what continues they chose to be called—curl their they will go and uran up their notes when referred to the United States that they would you do any you were in Oregon, New Mexico and the United States they t bound to admit this evil into this country for the benefit of some of the States who were overburdened with it." If this were true, it would be the duty of the free States, in that fraternal there? I do not know that it may not be done the large will place and the oil of consolation to be taxed by the Imperial Parliament of English has been defeated by the Imperial Parliament the blood and the bones of the gallant men in slavery." They the Supreme Court. How is it to be done? A which we have heard much of out of decis—the duced to the level of the hog—the only gentlecoming Presidential Election, shall deter me man I know! [A laugh.] from pursuing this course. If in my power, in the language of the Ordinance of '87, I would have it enacted that slavery shall never exist in lange, because it was a wrong perpendicular and especially because it presented the sattlement of the country by artistan, and miles off. Now, I don't know how it may be in other parts of the world, but I know that not time constitution itself and of our power, I must assertion, that not time constitution itself and of our power, I must assertion, that not time constitution itself and of our power, I must assertion, that not time constitution is carried to every man's door. What, then, is of that character were not passed. In 1784, not far from this Capitol, where we are now engaged in faiking about the transfer of the slave-trade to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, there was a meeting in Paristan at which one George Washington, Esq., presided. Some young gentlemen may know something of him. He was a tobac co-planter at Mount Vernon. The resolutions passed on that occasion declared the intention of the meeting for refrain from purchasing any shares, and Luir determination to have nothing to do with the alwest and the law shale. The Senate did not say we had no right to do with the alwest and the law can be the meeting for refrain from purchasing any shares, and Luir determination to have nothing to do with the alwest and the law shale. The Senate did not say we had no right to do with the alwest rade—because the introduction of slaves into this country prevented its set.

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the bill for the very reason that it will admit Stavery; the Senator from Vermont for the reason that slavery cannot get there. Now, in this onfusion of ideas, I desire that Congress, if it have any opinion, express it. If we have any islate over these Territories, how long would it take to write down the six articles of the Indinance of '87? Those of us who think that that ought to be a fundamental law in the organzation of our Territories will vote for it; and hose of us who believe otherwise will vote against it, and which ever party triumphs, will give law to Oregon and California, bearing the responsibility. But I must say that I do not ike what appears to me—I say it in no offensive ense—a shuffling-off of the responsibility which supon us now, and which we cannot avoid. he Supreme Court may overrale our decision; out if we think we have power to ordain that davery shall not exist in that Territory, let us say so: if not, let us so decide. Let us not evade

loubt; nor do I feel disposed to deny that every man of them believed that it was just such a measure as was calculated to give tranquility to the agitated minds of the people of this country. Well, I do not care for that agita. on farther than that I will look to it as a motive to know what it -what my powers and my duties are, I have leard much of this-I have been myself a prophot of dissolution of this Union: but I have seen the Union of these States, heard so much of late, that I am not afraid of dissolution. ong disregarded, he may come at last when not expected; but I do not believe that the people of the South, are going to sever themselves from this Republic, because we will not establish slavery here and there. If we have no power to pass the law, let the people of the South go to the Supreme Court, and have the question deciled. It will only be a few months till the Court resumes its sessions here, and the question can then be tried. If the decision be against us, the centlemen of the South can at once commence heir emigration to their territories. Let us then nake the law as we think it ought to be made. I am the more confirmed in this course which am determined to pursue, by some historical facts elicited in this very discussion. I remem-ber what was said by the Senator from Virginia, the other day; and happily found it this mornng, and the reference was all that I expected is a truth that when the Constitution of the nited States was made, South Carolina and leorgia refused to come into the Union unless he slave-trade should be continued for twenty cears; and the North agreed that they would ote to continue the slave-trade for twenty years; yes, voted that this new Republicshould engage n piracy and murder at the will of two States! to the history reads; and the condition of the greement was that those two States should agree to some arrangement about navigation laws! I do not blame South Carolina and Georgia for this transaction any more than I do hose Northern States who shared in it. suppose the question were now presented here by any one, whether we should adopt the foreign slave-trade and continue it for twenty years, would not the whole land turn pale with horror, that in the middle of the Nineteenth Century, a citizen of a free community, a Senator of the United States, should dare to propos the adoption of a system that has been denomi And under all this complexity of legal quibnated piracy and murder, and is by law pur shable by death all over Christendom? did they do then? They had power to prohibi his appeal two years before the Supreme Court, it; but at the command of these two States they allowed that to be introduced into the Constitu tion to which all Slavery now existing in our to be implicated on account of his friends' acland is clearly to be traced. For who can doubt that but for that woeful bargain, Slavery would by this time have disappeared from all the States, with one or two exceptions? The number of slaves in the United States at that period was about six hundred thousand; it is now three millions. And just as you extend the area of nunitely better that day that South Carolina and Georgia had remained out of the Union for ever, rather than that the Constitution should have been made to sanction the slave-trade for twenty years. The dissolution of the Confederacy would have been nothing in comparison with the recognition of piracy and murder. I can conceive of nothing in the dark record of man's enormities, from the death of Abel down to this hour, so horrible as that of stealing people from their own home, and making them and their posterity slaves forever. It is a crime which we know has been visited, as we learn from the pages of Sacred History, by the vengeance and wrath of Almighty God. In thus characterizing this accursed traffic, I speak but the common sentiment of all madkind. I could not, if I taxed my feeble intellect to the utmost. denounce it in language as strong as that ut-tered by THOMAS JEFFERSON himself. Nay, more, the spirit of that great man descending on his grandson, in the Virginia Convention, denounced the slave-trade as now carried on between the States, as being no less infamous than that foreign Slave-trade curried on in ships that went down into the sen. I speak of Tnon-AS JEFFERSON RANDOLPH. If you would not transferred to us by virtue of this bloody power of go to Africa and thence people California with slaves, may you not perpetrate equal enormi-ties here? You take the child from its mother's

tansport them three thousand miles off across the broad continent. I know that this is a peculiar institution, and I doubt not that in the hands of such gentleattractive. It may be a very agreeable sight to behold a lage company of dependents, kindly treated by a benevolent master, and to trace the manifestations of gratitude which they exhibit. But in my eyes a much more grateful spectacle would be that of a patriarch in the same neighborhood, with his dependents all around him, invested with the attributes of freedom bestowed upon them by the Common Father, in whose sight all are alike precious! It is, indeed, a very "peculiar" institution. According to the account of the Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Davis) this institution exhibits all that is most based on the senator of the land, but they will tolerate the senator of the land, but they will tolerate the law-makers of the land, but they will tolerate the law-makers of the land, but they will tolerate to some extent our sympathy with those who are warring against despotism, and I now mean to show you as far as I am able, what is the public opinion at this time in this country. It may be that the people will tolerate you in passing a law of this sort, because you are the dynatiuted to some extent our sympathy with those who are warring against despotism, and I now mean to show you as far as I am able, what is the public opinion at this time in this country. It may be that the people will tolerate you in passing a law of this sort, because you are the dynatiuted. never could have appealed to God in the way they did, had they not been willing to strike oif the chains from every negro in the Colonies, if it had been possible for them to do so without upturning the foundations of society. I do not revive these things to wound the feelings of gentlemen. I know some of them consider the institution as valuable; but many of them I also know regard it as a carse. But, thank God, know regard it as a carse. But, thank God, wanted the power to send a partrol all over the amiable and beautiful in our nature. That no man, no, not even Wassingrow if he were wanted the power to send a patrol all over the country to prevent this old nurse from throttling young master! I had almost believed, after hearing the beautiful, romantic, sentimental

heart-you separate husband and wife-and you

The desides fine above to rays a much problem to a refine died guilt and

Jac 2011

A Siergran,

slavery exists, trampling upon your laws and setting your slaves free—at which enormity the South holds up her hands in pious horror—the

fanatics of the South are entering upon the free

converting it into slave Territory. Sir, you

you imitate the example of those fanatics in your treatment of the Free Soil of this Union.

ir, there is no difference between the two ca-

terpart of those of the North. If there be any difference, it is only this: That the fanatic of

the North has the poor spology of aiming to give liberty to his fellow-man, while you of the

to us this day from the abodes of the blessed, and impart to us a little of their wisdom, there

would be no difficulty in passing the Ordinance

of 1787, and applying it to these Territories .-

Mr. Jourson of Md .- [in his seat.] Certain-

Mr. Conwin.-The Senator from Maryland

Mr. Jourson.-The Senator from Ohio,

Mr. Conwix - The Senator is very polite

We are not such men as they were.

any be, but if so, he is an exception.

rtainly an exception.

Mr. Conwin.-I cannot.

from Ohio to say that if Gen. Taylor would in-

terpose a veto upon the subject, he would not vote for him under any circumstances.

the modest and self-denying South, the God-fearing South, which has exhibited such extra-ordinary forbearance—not caring to extend its power—but at the same time demanding of us to give them the power to rule this Senate, which at least is equivalent to ruling the legislative power of the land. Sir, if it were a mere ques-tion of power, I rather think I should consent to give it up to them, but there are questions deeper and higher than your mode of governing the country would be to me. For myself I want the Ordinance of 1787. There I can stand upon firm ground! There the path is marked by the blood of the Revolution! I stand in company there with "the old men," their locks wet with

there with "the old men," their locks wet wit the Jordan through which they have passed and their garments dyed red with the bloo-which they have shed to give us the priceles boon of Freedom!

we are.

must say no more about the fanalics of the No

der obligations to preserve, eternally, their rein-tive proportions in the same way.

Mr. Calborn.—I said nothing of the kind. BAGGING AND ROPE.- The market for the Mr. Conwin.—I am very happy to be unde-coived. I understood the Senator to conceive that this is a question of power. It is not so. It is a question of municipal law, of civil polity. The mea who framed the Constitution never dreamed that there was going to be a conflict of power between the Slave and the Free States. minierate sales throughout the week of 315 pieces Bag-ging, and 560 coin in lots at 14c, and 64a64c; 410 pieces and 100 cods at 13jc and 0c; a rais of 64 pieces narrow They never dreamed that the South was to contend that they should always be equal in repre-sentation in the Senate to the North. They had Bagging at Bathe; and a sale of 50 pieces and 50 cods at 13f and 6jc. The receipts of this week amount to 500 pieces and 716 cods. The shipments during the week no idea of that equilibrium of power of which we have heard so much. The circumstances of that period forbade any such supposition.— Looking at all these circumstances—and I have no doubt those far-seeing men regarded them

have amounted to 1187 pieces, and http coils. The amo of stock now on hand is 5002, pieces and 4513 coils. COTTON AND COTTON YARNS-We have heard no sales of Cotton this week. There is a moderate carefully—you would have had fourteen Slave States and but nine Free. But every man who had anything to do with the formation of the Constitution expected and desired that slavery should be prohibited in the new States; and quiry for a common article, however, but no frames, ons. The stock is rather small. The receipts this eek are only 7 bales. The rates of Cotton Varus are smewhat umettled. We hear of several fair sales at 5), 64 and 75c for the different numbers; also various they even expected to have it abolished in many sales at these figures with 5 per cent off. The stocks are of the States where it existed. They had no idea of conflict; and if the fanatics of the South, air. Receipts this week 186 bags. CORN MEAL-Sale at \$1 25 per bbl; retail se as well as those in the North, would let the subject alone, we should have no more trouble con-cerning it. But what do we see? While North-ern fanatics are for rushing into the States where

Sodic per bushet PLOUR AND GRAIN.-The supply of Flour thro he week has been quite good, chiefly from the city m and sales have been toierably heavy at very low rates.-We hear of sales through the week at mile and stores of about 2,300 bbls at prices ranging from \$3 50 to \$1 75; retail sales at \$3 75a\$6 00 delivered. The receipts this week are 704 biss. Wheat is the same as last week. The soil of this Republic whenever they are able, and GROCKRIES-Transactions in the leading articles are heavier this week than they have been lately, and the endeavoring to uproot your institutions, while merket is rather more active. The stocks of the leading articles are ample. The following table of receipts wi ses. The fanatics of the South are but a coun-

Comparative receipts of Coffee, Sugar, and Melaness into ioniscille, for the past and present years, commencing September 1st, 1846: From Sept. 1, '16 to Sept. | From Sept. 1, '47 to Aug. Coffee, sacks. ...30,505 Coffee, sacks...... Sugar, hinds...... Moiasses, bbis te6,791 Sugar, hinis

outh are endeavoring to pull down the temples We hear of sales of Sugar through the week amo of Liberty and to rear your institution of Stavery upon their ruins. I have declared my opin- to 116 hhds in various lots, at italie; retail sales in bots ions in regard to this institution, as I believe it at 4755c. Stock quite ample. Receipts this week of o exist. I have no belief that a man who owns 138 hhds. Loaf and Refined Sugar in bots we quote at 6a slaves must necessarily be permitted to carry out lot for the different numbers. Arrived this week 150 his own views. I rather think he owns them blis. Havana Sugar in boxes at GiaSie as per quality. ecause he does not know any better. I think, Coffee may be quoted at somewhat easier rates by the pon the whole, they had all better come to the quantity. Sales during the week of 506 bags of Rio in lot tate of Ohio for an example, where we drive at prices ranging from 75 to 75c; retail sales at 750c, even the free negroes away. I intend nothing according to quality. Receipts of 494 bags. Java Coffee ffensive to the sensibilities of gentlemen, but if we quote at Paste. Plantation Molasses dull; we hear the free expression of my honest convictions of-fends, I cannot help it. I believe if we were to Sugarhouse Moiasses we quote at 3545k, according to set about this business of establishing Govern-ments as our fathers did when they laid the founquality. Cheese is dult at facile in lots. Receipts of only to hoxes. Rice is in demand, and there is no stock on dations of this Republic of ours—if the same spirit animated us—if, happily, they could come

IRON, METAL, NAILS AND TIN PLATE-We quote mies of her iron at Biaic, in lots; Pig-metal is in lair re mest. We hear of a sale of 100 tons Tennessee, to arrive at 825; a rate of 30 tons at \$30; and sales of 91 tons at \$35 a Sid, as per quality. Nails-Sales of Pittsburg at 4 18 100 adje in lots, for the assorted numbers. Stock fair; arived this week 925 kegs. No demand for Hoston usels. Tin plate-selling in light lots at \$10 60a10 75; sales of coofing plate at \$12 per box.

HEMP-In the early part of the week all the baird lew rotted Hemp, amounting to little upwards of ten tons, on the market, was bought by a manufacturer at Now, Sir, a gentleman before me, [Mr. Fivz-\$100 per ton. We learn that ell the disposable lots of some Hemp in this region have also been bought up at GERALD,] has, with great propriety, explained to the Senate the position in which he is placed in \$100 per tou, on four months credit. The factories are laying in good supplies for the recommencement of operespect to a friend of his, who is not now in this laying in good supplies for the recommencement of ope-body. The subject has been often adverted to, and while on my feet, I wish to say a few words days. The Saint Louis market at the last dates was quite n relation to it. Gen. Cass, it is said, is likely stimulated, owing to an increased demand for Kentucky manufactories, and a limited supply on hand, prices hav tion upon this question of slavery. I know not ing advanced from \$87 to \$165 per ton. The receipts how that can be, for I may as well say here that this week and 345 bales.

I have no confidence whatever as to the precise PROVISIONS AND LARD—The demand for

position in which Mr. Cass may place himself visions is rather limited. We hear of sales of Bacon . co-morrow. He has occupied two positions al- from wagons at 25ale for Shoulders, and 3 2 Mate for ready. Sir, he who can change his position so clear Sides. Sales of 75 casks clear Sides from stores, readily may change back at the shortest notice. in lots, at 4, 45 and 45c; a sale of a few casks Hams at Slavery, so you multiply the difficulties which Gen. Cass has declared that Congress has no so; retail sales of bagged Hams, for family use, space; South Carolina has very properly declared such a doctrine to be an absurdity; because if we can transfer the power to the Territorial Government to act upon the subject, we must of course offered at a fraction under 6jc, and refused. possess the power ourselves; we cannot com-municate more power than we have. And I declare, if anybody is concerned to know what

AGENTS FOR THE EXAMINER.

is my opinion on the subject, and what is the opinion of the Free Stetes of the Union, that if D. M. Drwer, Arcade Hall, Rochester, N. Y HENRY CHAPIN, Canandaigus, N. Y. BROWN & WILLIAMSON, Commercial Buildings. Gen. Tavior was not considered as being com-mitted by his published letters against the exercise of the Veto power upon this subject, he Superior st., Cleveland, Ohio. would not get my vote. nor would he get the D. NEEDHAM, 12, Exchange st., Buffalo, N. vote of a Free State in America if I could help H. Barclay, Russellville, Ky. Rev. Hooren Crews, Mount Morris, Illinois Mr. Hannegan.—I would like to be informed by the Senator from Ohio, as he has referred to Gen. Case's position, and as he is about to give his support to Gen. Taylor, if he can give us Gen. Taylor, if he can give us his opinion will be as expressed in his Message

Rev. Hoofer Carws, Mount Morris, Illinois Hon. A. W. Graham, Bowlingreen. Ky.

WM. Garnett, Glasgow, Ky.

C. H. Barkley, Lexington, Kentucky.

J. B. Russell, Gazette Office, Cincinnati, O. White & Potter, 15 State street, Boston.

Elijas Smith, 142 Nassau street, New York. JOHN. SCHOLEFIELD, S. E. cor. Arch & 6th sts.

Mr. HANNEGAN .- I understand the Senator P. H. CONANY, Smithland, Ky. NEW STEAM PURNITURE PACTORY. ORNER OF MAIN AND FOURTEENTH STR LOUISVILLE, SY.

Philadelphia

Mr. Conwin .- I would not, nor would any man in my State, unless indeed I found him opposed to just such another man who had a great nany bad qualities beside. [A laugh.] But, Sir, have to my that I do not believe that Gen. WANTED .- Cherry, Walnut, Sycamore, Gum and Pup Taylor could get the electoral vote of a free State in America, if it were not for the belief Aug. 4-tf. that prevails, that upon this subject, as well as

upon any other of a like character, he would not interpose his veto. I believe the man who does it, be he who he may, deserves impeachment, and to have his head rolled on a block. That Third Street, between Market and Jefferson. has been my opinion for some time! [A laugh.] I have no more desire to live under a despo-tism here than in Ireland. We have exhibited Proper Printe, Statemery, Paper Medicin He is the sole agent in Louisville for the k Bra,'s Temperance Toles, Essays, Seri A fair share of public patronage is respectfully solicited

> IE Seventeenth Anniversary of the Union Literal Society of Hanover College, will be held in the Co-I Society of Hanover College, will be held in the lege Chapel on Thursday evening, August 17th. Oration will be delivered on the occasion by the Relation will be presented to the graduates, with an Address A. W. Hastonickus, Esq., of Madison, In. The friends of the Society, and the public general respectfully invited to attend. By order of the Society jy29-3t M. S. COULTER, Cor. Sec. Prote

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the Senate of the United States than the Free States could ever have. And this is all you ask! Much has been said about the modesty of the South—the forbearance of the South! Why, considered merely as a question of political power, all they ask of us is to put the power into their hands, in order that they may govern the free men of the North as they govern the black men of the South! If it is to be looked upon as a question of power at all, that is the position in which this question will be placed if you HAS always for sale, Wholesale and Retail, a full as ortment of the patiers of Paper Hangings, Manufactured by HART, MONTGOMERY & Co. Sept. 18 1847—2y.

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